





In this distracted state of the country, let not the millions of despotism in the old world find hope or consolation in the failure of democracy in the new. With us, democracy has not been a failure, because yet remains to be tried. Genuine democracy includes all in its regards, irrespective of race, color or sex. The Declaration of Independence still remains true, in spite of our national recency to it. Those who enslave their fellow-creatures, or who connive at their enslavement, are not democrats, but cheats and dissemblers if they pretend to be such. It is not the democratic but the despotic principle of rule, in its extremest form, that they are reducing to practice; for chattel slavery is the sum of all despotisms as well as of all villanies. As Christianity is utterly incompatible with heathenism, so democracy is with slavery. A democratic Slave State is as incoherent in speech, and as absurd in idea, as a Christian idolatrous

thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not. And they that be of thee shall build the old waste places; they shall raise up the foundations of many generations; they shall be called, The repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in.<sup>17</sup>

Surely, this was a scene on which angels might have gazed with wonder and rapture! Surely; the whitest complexioned race could not have done better, under similar circumstances! Nevertheless, in this country, the most atrocious misrepresentations of the workings of West India Emancipation have been perseveringly made by the enemies of the negro race. All the statistics of the various islands prove that the experiment has been eminently successful. Revenue steadily augmenting; land doubling in value; population increasing where in the days of slavery it was

(1) See "THE RIGHT WAY THE SAFE WAY," by Mrs. L. Maria Child.

their features in letter or spirit. Radically wrong as these are in their pro-slavery guaranties, and shaped as they were at their formation in accordance with

row, the bones and sinews of the rebellion. Without them, the rebellion would instantly collapse; with them, it is sure to be victorious. All that they are

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## Poetry.

For the Liberator.

## THE PRESIDENT'S CALL, AND PROCLAMATION.

BY MR. FRANCIS S. GAGE.

"Three hundred thousand more brave men are wanted"—  
Three hundred thousand more fathers and sons,  
To stand in the swamp, and to dig in morasses—  
To toll in the trenches, and sleep by their guns.

Three hundred thousand, of volunteer freemen,  
To be drilled in the camp, while the foe gathers power;  
To be harassed and starved, and disappointed and maddened,  
By the "strategy" strange that is ruling the hour.

Three hundred thousand, white sons of white mothers—  
Hear ye not the words, is the call not enough,  
To make you spring gladly to join your white brothers,  
Who passed into bliss from Bull Run and Ball's Bluff?

Come, come! give your names—it is men that are wanted;  
Not patriots brave that will conquer the foe;  
Men, men, for the sacrifice!—go, quivering daunted,  
'Neath Slavery's SKEIN let precious blood flow.

Oh, mothers and wives! shall we hark back our treasure?  
Know we not 'tis our country that calls for our braves;  
Our first-born already rest well from their labors—  
Shall we not give our sons, that the traitors have slaves?

The dark men by thousands stand ready and waiting  
To "be armed and equipped," and with hearts brave and strong,  
Will join in this conflict against their oppressors,  
To till the till the rebel owns to the wrong.

Put, hark! 'tis the voice of our President speaking!  
His words blight the hopes of the friends of the slave:  
"We will not arm the negroes!"—Brave heart, cease  
thy beating.

While our President digs for thy dear one a grave.

Oh! rulers of men, think ye justice is sleeping?  
Is the ear of the "All Father" deaf to the cry  
Of the widow and orphan, and slave mother weeping?  
And the war spirit lags, as that edict sweeps by?

Oh God! still have mercy! spare us yet as a nation!  
The people in travail are groaning to-day;  
And a child shall be born of that dread proclamation,  
Whose name shall be FREEDOM, to praise thee for aye!

For the Liberator.

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

All hail, Columbia! to thy western skies,  
Where sacred Freedom's lofty temples rise,  
The virgin goddess bends her aureole light;  
On the fountains of diffusive light,  
She comes, with Love's resplendent rays, 'tis illumine  
The vale of woe, and cheer its awful gloom;  
To smother mankind from the cold arms of death,  
And re-inspire with being's transient breath.

But, ah! will ye who fight in Freedom's cause,  
To die in battle or defend her laws,  
Will ye, when fortune has your efforts crowned,  
And countless laurels round your temples bound;  
Will ye such bold achievements now disgrace,  
Nor freedom grant to all the human race?

Shall the poor bondman blot your rising fame,  
And see for justice with neglected claim,  
In the dark cell, where sorrow dwells with pain,  
Their tortured limbs indented with the chain,  
See Ethiopia's sons, because the day  
Upon their skins has glanced too warm a ray?

From fraud's ungenerous artifice repelled,  
Far to the west, o'er swelling surges borne,  
In lavish life of woe and toil to mourn!

Blush, blush, vile Rebels! who, for lustre's sake,  
Through every natural bond of freedom break,  
Although with honor crowned, Columbia's name  
May sound eternal through the trump of fame;  
Though shouting millions hear new system boast,  
By Solons planned, 't will unite her ardent host.

Yet, while the negro clings to Oppression's chain,  
And these unfeeling, brutal tyrants reign,  
Through decked with all the splendid charms of State,  
Her blushing cheek can never be great.

Hail, glorious era, when the genial rays  
Of mild Philanthropy, in one broad blaze,  
Shall round the world benignly lustre dart,  
And warm the laughing Riber's frozen heart;  
When Africa's millions shall to freedom rise,  
And with loud rapture rend the yielding skies!

Columbia's eagle then, with wings unfurled,  
Shall symbolize redemption for the world.

Boston, August 9, 1862.

G. E. T.

From the Atlantic Monthly for August.

## A SUMMER DAY.

At daybreak, in the fresh light, joyfully  
The fishermen drew in their laden net;  
The shore shone rosy purple, and the sea  
Was streaked with violet.

And, pink with sunrise, many a shadowy sail  
Lay southward, lighting up the sleeping bay,  
And in the west the white moon, still and pale,  
Faded before the day.

Silence was everywhere. The rising tide  
Stoily filled every crevice and inlet small;  
A musical low whisper multiplied,  
You heard, and that was all.

No clouds at dawn; but, as the sun climbed higher,  
White cottons, heaped in splendour, up the sky  
Floated and thronged in the sun's clear fire,  
A stately company.

Stealing along the coast, from cape to cape,  
The weird mirage crept tremulously on,  
In many a magic change and wondrous shape  
Throbbed beneath the sun.

At noon the wind rose—swept the glassy sea  
To sudden ripple—thrust against the clouds  
A strenuous shoulder—gathering steadily,  
Drove them then before in crowds.

Till all the west was dark, and inkly black  
The level ruffled water underneath,  
And up the wind-tossed, a ghastly reach,  
In many a ragged wreath.

Then sudden roared the thunder, a great real  
Magnificent, that broke and rolled away;  
And down the wind plunged, like a furious keel  
Cleaving the sea to spray.

And brought the rain, sweeping o'er land and sea—  
And then was tumult! Lightning, sharp and keen,  
Thunder, wind, rain—a mighty jubilee  
The heaven and earth between!

And lo! the ocean sang—a chorus grand—  
A solemn music sung in undertone  
Of waves that broke about, on either hand  
The little island lone.

Where, joyful in His temple as His calm,  
Held in the hollow of that hand of His,  
I joined with heart and soul in God's great psalm,  
Thrilled with a nameless bliss.

Soon lulled the wind—the summer storm soon died;  
The shattered clouds went eastward, drifting slow;  
From the low sun the rain-fringe swept aside,  
Bright in his ray's glow.

And wide a splendor streamed through all the sky  
O'er land and sea, one soft, delicious blush,  
That touched the gray rocks lightly, tenderly,  
A transitory flush.

Warm, odorous gusts came of the distant land,  
With pipe of pine-woods, breath of hay new-mown,  
O'er miles of waves and sea-reefs cool and bland,  
Full in our faces blown.

Slow faded the sweet light, and peacefully  
The quiet stars came out, one after one—  
The holy twilight deepened silently,  
The summer day was done.

Such unalloyed delight its hours had given,  
Meeting, this thought rose in my grateful mind,  
That God, who watches all things, up in heaven,  
With patient eyes, and kind,

## THE LIBERATOR.

Saw and was pleased, perhaps, one child of His  
Dared to be happy, like the little birds,  
Because he gave his children days like this,  
Rejoicing beyond words—

Dared, lifting up to Him untroubled eyes  
In gratitude that worship is, and prayer,  
Sing and be glad with ever new surprise  
He made His world so fair?

## The Liberator.

## THE NEW JERUSALEM MESSENGER.

MR. GARRISON:  
At the forty-third General Convention of the New Church, (Swedenborgian), held in Boston, on the 11th to 15th June, 1862, the editor of your weekly paper, *The New Jerusalem Messenger*, Mr. J. L. Jewett, was supported by Rev. James P. Stuart, formerly of Gloucester, Mass.

This, I think, shows some anti-slavery progress, even in the New Church conservative order. *The Messenger*, under the editorship of Mr. Jewett, totally ignored the monstrous wickedness and evils of slavery. A foreigner, who should read no other American paper, could not learn by it that such an odious institution as slavery had an existence in the United States. Mr. Jewett, its late editor, who has been its editor since the commencement of the paper, seven years ago, never has had a word to say against slavery, or the evils arising therefrom. But he occasionally uttered his hate of abolition. Although he has kept out of his paper any condemnation of slavery, he cannot refrain from showing his hate of abolition and abolitionists. In his parting with the *Messenger*, in the paper of June 28th, occupying three and a half columns, he comes out more fully upon the subject, and shows his "cloven foot" more plainly than ever, in his enmity to abolition and abolitionists.

He is conscious of being condemned for his former course, and therefore says—"I am called 'a pro-slavery man,' a disloyal citizen, or a sympathizer with secession and rebellion. I trust I shall have strength given me to endure it, without a desire to retaliate." Immediately following the preceding, Mr. Jewett proceeds to show his position, as follows:—

"With the unprincipled politicians in the South, who, for thirty years, have perverted the doctrine of State Rights to favor nullification, secession and rebellion, (he don't say a word about their favoring slavery,) who have striven so successfully to alienate the hearts of their people from the people of the North, that it became possible for wicked conspirators to consummate their most unhallowed purposes; and with no less culpable men in the North, (meaning the abolitionists,) who, for the same length of time, knowing that the Constitution of our Government was an inseparable bar to their fanatical and insurrectionary schemes, have blasphemously denounced that sacred instrument of justice as a great people, which bears the approving signature of Washington, as 'a covenant with death and a compact with hell,'—have publicly burned it at their unhallowed gatherings, and have labored to expatriate the public mind of the North, until they themselves became the virtual aiders and abettors of traitors in the South,—the virtual abettors, without whose aid secession and rebellion could never have been consummated,—with neither side of these wicked or foolish conspirators, any country can I ever have sympathy or fellowship, except that which may hereafter be due from Christians to men who sincerely repent of their wicked deeds. I have never joined in the common cry that slavery in the South, any more than opposition to slavery in the North, was the cause of the war. I recognize no such secondary, and unscriptural cause of evil, nor does our great Creator recognize it."

Thus you see, Mr. Editor, that Mr. Jewett considers the abolitionists equally as bad as slaveholders; in fact, he does not consider the institution of slavery bad at all. He has not a word to say against it, but wishes the Government restored as formerly, slavery and all. He worships the Constitution, putting it above the "higher law." Hear him!—

"Our Constitution, which binds the States together and makes us one people, is not a moral or religious, but a purely political instrument. . . . Our Union is purely and wholly a political Union. Any attempt, therefore, to establish a 'higher law' than the Constitution for the government of the country; any attempt to apply religious and moral tests to our national politics, is a blow aimed at the heart of the Union, and can effect nothing but dissension and anarchy."

I will not quote any more from Mr. Jewett, in his volubility, upon leaving the editorial staff of the *New Jerusalem Messenger*; but I will close with a few remarks. He seems to ignore the fact that God in mercy, in dealing with nations, raises up men to warn them of their evils, sins of oppression, &c. Was not Noah raised up and inspired of God to preach to the antediluvians, and warn them of the judgments of Heaven for their wickedness and oppression? It is said that "the earth was filled with violence." But the people repented not at the preaching of Noah, and the flood came, and destroyed them. Moses was raised up to warn Pharaoh, the Egyptian king, against the sin of oppressing the Israelites—enslaving them. The tyrant was asked to let them go—to liberate them. He hardened his heart, and would not. The judgments of God came upon the nation in various ways, till Pharaoh was compelled to yield—then he repented, and followed after the fleeing Israelites, and was drowned, with his hosts, in the Red Sea. Later, Elijah, the prophet, reproved the King of Israel for his wickedness, and the wickedness of the Jewish nation; their hardness of hearts, and reported that Elijah had fled from the King, Ahab; but the end of three years, Ahab searched all the country over to find him, but could not. At length, the prophet showed himself to Ahab, who exclaimed, on meeting him, "Art thou he that troublest Israel?" Just as this nation accuses the abolitionists of troubling the people of the United States, because they have, for thirty years, warned the nation of the judgments of God which would surely come upon it for the sin of holding slaves in bondage, and refusing to let them go.

It is possible that Mr. Jewett ever read the first verse of the 58th chapter of Isaiah—"Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins." Has he given the nation the least warning of its great sin of slaveholding? I have read his paper very attentively, but never saw one word against slavery; and a constant reader of his paper, the *Messenger*, could not learn by it that slavery had an existence in the United States! Mr. Jewett has published articles from that pro-slavery sheet, the *New York Observer*, with approbation, but never an abolition article from any paper.

His removal by the General Convention, as editor of their leading paper, is a bright omen that even the New Church shows progress in the right direction. It is a fact, not generally known, that Rev. Thomas Worcester, D. D., the President of the Convention, who delivered the annual address to that body, who was also chosen President for the ensuing year, is an anti-slavery man, as his sermon delivered at the National Fast, on the 26th of last September, which is printed in a pamphlet form, shows. Another thing seems hopeful, viz.—At the closing session of the Convention, a paper was read from the General Convention of the New Church in Great Britain, representing ten thousand people. The communication speaks of receiving "the vigorous, patriotic and manly" letter of Rev. Dr. Worcester, on the subject of the rebellion and liberty. The above I learn from the *Messenger* of the 28th ult, which also says:—"The document is a lengthy one, its principal topic consisting of an argument against slavery, a hopeful discussion of the coming time when war shall no longer curse the earth," &c., &c. "Rev. Dr. Worcester, as President of the Convention, authorized Rev. Mr. Stuart, the future editor of the *Messenger*, to respond to the mission of the British brethren."

If Mr. Jewett was commissioned to reply to the British New Church abolitionists, what kind of an answer, think you, would he give?

This nation has been continually warned, for thirty years, against the sin of slavery. But it has hardened its heart, and stoned and maltreated the abolitionists,

who are the only people who have "cried aloud, and spared not." Can it be possible that, boasting of being the most civilized, the most christianized, of the nations, it has not been warned, by a merciful God, to repent of the sin of slavery, and all other national sins, previous to his divine judgments falling upon it? It cannot be. Therefore, the question arises, who has warned it? I presume that but one true answer can be given, and that is—the abolitionists. The sound of their voice has gone over the whole length and breadth of the land. Although the slaveholders of the South have taken immense pains to keep out the light and truth of abolitionism, it has entered there, and greatly disturbed their guilty consciences; but instead of repenting, and forsaking their sins, they have hardened their hearts as did guilty Pharaoh, and would not let the people go, at the command of Jehovah. Hence this war. Hence the judgments of God are upon this guilty nation. As the North have shared with the South in aiding them in protecting, sustaining and enlarging slavery, they must share in its evils.

I perceive that at the celebration of the anniversary of our independence from Great Britain, on the 4th of July, 1862, at Boston, the chief orator of the day, Hon. George Ticknor Curtis, had not one word to say against American slavery—not he! But he was very severe against the abolitionists. He has no notion of having this guilty nation repenting of its enormous sin in still holding four millions of human beings in the most abject bondage. He wants this war closed, and the Government restored as it was before the war,—slavery and all. Jefferson Davis may then, by the aid of the Northern democracy, be chosen President, and the South accomplish the object of war, and our "glorious Union" be made to foot the bill—paying for all the cost of the war, and slavery re-established stronger than ever. Is this the future destiny of the Republic? But I hope better things, though I thus speak.

Yours for Liberty,

I. S.

## EVIL EFFECTS OF THE WAR.

DEERFIELD CENTRE, N. H., Aug. 18, 1862.

FRIEND GARRISON.—A subscriber to your paper for twelve years, in favor of the reforms you advocate, I respectfully ask you to publish the accompanying communication, because I think it contains truths that ought to be published.

Yours, for Freedom and Humanity,

A. M. J. M. PAGE.

Among the evil effects produced by the civil war now existing in this country, one of the most lamentable is the demoralizing influence exerted upon that class of persons, termed Reformers. Men who have, for years, labored to effect the subversion of slavery, claiming to be actuated by a regard for the welfare of both slave and master, are now engaged in a brutal war to subdue and crush the South, whom they have considered less guilty of the crime of slaveholding than the North; and also to preserve a Union they have denounced as "a covenant with death," and tried to destroy.

Filled with the infernal war-spirit now raging in this land, and deluded with the idea that this war may benefit the slave, and promote the cause of freedom, professed Abolitionists seem intent upon inflaming the passions of men in the North to a violent rage against their Southern brethren, and thereby rendering the war more horrid and diabolical than it has hitherto been. They seem blind as a bat to those alarming encroachments upon individual freedom by the national government, and the imminent danger that this conflict will result in binding the chains of the slave still tighter than before, and converting the government of the country into a military despotism. Advocates of free speech denounce the conservative and pro-slavery press apparently with the design of leading the government to crush it; and have no rebukes to administer when, by the fury of a mob, or the despotic power of executive officers, the most sacred of rights is trampled upon.

Even some who have been radical peace men, advocating the sanctity of human life, and the forgiveness of enemies, are now either taking an active part in this struggle between selfish aspirants for power, or are consenting to let go on—foolishly expecting it may be productive of some great good.

It is painful to complain of the course of the *Liberator*. But who, judging this paper by its late numbers, could be induced to believe that its editor and principal contributors are world-wide philanthropists and non-resistants, possessed of such high-toned morality that they would not do the least injustice or injury to any fellow-man to effect the greatest and noblest results? Lost in the setting forth of the crimes and horrors and disastrous consequences of this war, in order to lead its readers to adopt and carry out the peace principle, this sheet would seem to foster the baneful spirit of hatred and revenge, and to sanction the most violent measures policy may dictate to insure success to the arms of the Northern States.

It is hoped that these delusions and this evil spirit which so paralyze reformatory movements may vanish, and that Abolitionists and other reformers return to the use of moral and peaceful means to promote the welfare of mankind, for which they profess to labor.

A. M. J. M. PAGE.

## A. S. CONVENTION AT LEOMINSTER.

In response to the call for a mass Convention of the friends of freedom at Leominster, on Sunday, Aug. 10, though the day was very fine, only a handful assembled at the Town Hall in the morning. The meeting was called to order at half-past 10 by Parker Pillsbury. Arad H. Wood of Pepperell was chosen Chairman, Mrs. F. H. Drake and J. F. Adams, of Fitchburg, Secretaries, and Jonathan Drake and Isaac Smith, Finance Committee.

E. H. Heywood spoke very eloquently and earnestly, urging upon Abolitionists the duty of standing by the old issues and principles, the present being no time to relax our efforts in behalf of justice.

At the commencement of the afternoon session, Mr. Pillsbury offered for consideration the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That war is always an evil, if not a crime—and can never be justified, unless for the removal of evils greater than itself.

2. Resolved, That to protect slavery, or to preserve and prolong a Union and Government based on, extending, or perpetuating slavery, is not worth the sacrifice of one human life; inasmuch as such a Government should never have been formed, and has no right to exist.

3. Resolved, That by all the military laws, precedents or practices of modern nations, slavery could have been abolished by Presidential Proclamation, in the very hour when the Confederate States instituted a separate Union, and hurled defiance in the face of the authorities at Washington.

4. Resolved, That failing to discharge this most positive and palpable constitutional obligation has nearly cost the President and the country one of the noblest armies that ever took the field, besides an incalculable loss of money, and of honor and magnanimity in the sight of all the nations.

5. Resolved, That we reject as false among the people a growing distrust of the ability or the integrity of the President and his Cabinet for the terrible exigencies of the present hour; and a sterner popular demand that slavery, the grand cause of the war, and hitherto most murderous war, shall die, at whatever cost; and we enjoin upon the people to press this reasonable and righteous demand until it is granted, or the Government itself consigned to the same ignominy which should be visited upon the leaders of the Southern Rebellion.

Mr. Pillsbury stated that the object of the meeting was to arouse the public mind, and by that means to reach the Government. He said slavery had always been an element of weakness to the South, and might be made, if rightly used, an element of great strength to us.

No one doubted the power of the President to emancipate the slaves, as a means of ending the war, but the settled policy of Abraham Lincoln had been, to save slavery, if possible. He was attempting to harmonize two antagonisms. He said the noblest army that ever took the sword had been sacrificed to this insane idea; but this nation had no idea of doing justice, or of learning wisdom from all these calamities. Instead of a proclamation of freedom to the blacks, a proclamation had come, reducing the white people of the North to a deadly slavery. The more stringent war policy which had been promised bore harder upon the North than upon the South. He hoped that if the Union could not be founded on the basis of justice, it might perish forever.

The attendance during the afternoon and evening was better than in the morning. Before the close of the meeting, the resolutions read by Mr. Pillsbury were unanimously adopted.

## WHAT THE OFFENSE OF THE NORTH IS.

Is it a crime to disbelieve in human slavery? That is now the question presented to the American people, in consequence of the fanatical course of the leaders of the Democratic party. Assuming that it is a crime, and one so atrocious and unpardonable that the man who is guilty of it should be treated as though he were a mad dog, and hunted to death by the ministers of vengeance, they have declared war against all such, and prefer that the prosecution of the Southern war should stand public trial before the North. So men are hunted down in Hungary and Poland, for adhering to a belief in human rights. So in all ages the great struggle for liberty has been going on against oppression. So in America, the slave oligarchs of the South have for fifty years past fought to make liberty infamous and oppression triumphant.

The issue comes now in a new shape. With the South in open rebellion against the Government, the Democratic politicians at the North declare war against the freedom of speech and of the press. What else can be meant by the Democratic address? It seeks to conduct a personal attack on the single word "abolition." But abolition of what? Why, of slavery. It is then, according to this address, a crime to be opposed to slavery. It is a crime to be in favor of human freedom. It is a crime to express that opinion. It is a crime to stand by the Government in this war, because, according to the address, it is an abolitionist crusade. Hence we must stop this Southern contest, and make war upon the North. We must suppress abolition.

And how are we to suppress abolition? It is a cause resting solely on argument and moral suasion. It has never been advanced on any other basis. To suppress abolition, then, means to suppress all discourse on the subject, to put a stop to the freedom of discussion on this theme, to compel silence about slavery unless we endorse and praise the inhuman institution. How shall we go about accomplishing this? Here are the means proposed:—We will heart and soul to free discussion. They believe, from their inmost souls, in freedom, republican institutions, and human rights. We shall have to overturn their State governments, imprison nine-tenths of their people, both male and female, stop all newspapers, and take away all the rights, and leave the great North a desolate waste, beside which the South, even in its present condition, would be a paradise.

This is the programme laid before the public by the Democratic managers. It is idle to deny it. As far against this they term "abolition," means literally a war against the human species, against civilization and enlightened progress—a war which would soon leave no one to fight on either side. This is the plain English of all their clamor. The Democratic party has maintained the whole of its recent miserable existence by ringing the changes on this single word, "abolition," and now a point has been reached when the world must look the war calmly in the face, and contemplate its real meaning and import.

What, then, is this abolition against which we are asked to make war? Why should we abandon all effort to maintain the solidity and perpetuity of our empire, let the South go, and embark ourselves upon a sea of Northern blood, to fight this insupportable, intangible chimera? We have no desire to dodge the use of the word. Abolition by itself is an empty name. Abolition of what? Abolition of the phrase. Let the public talk it up leisurely, and ponder over it. Let no fine words be substituted. Let the whole phrase be repeated until all men shall become familiar with it. Abolition of slavery—not simple abolition. No so-called abolitionist proposes the abolition of the phrase, abolition of human freedom, abolition of the rights of life, liberty, and property by the Constitution, nor, in fact, abolition of anything but slavery.

And what is this sacred and sublime institution which demands such unheard-of sacrifices for its preservation? What is the divinity which hedges about it? What is the sacredness of the white citizen of the North is not to be permitted to open his lips about it? How comes it that, in a land where discussion has been as free as the winds, on all other themes, this one is and has been forbidden ground, and all who have attempted to discuss it are deemed to be traitors? Surely there must be something inexplicably precious in this institution, something invaluable, holy, heavenly, dear to the innermost feelings of the human heart, or else it could not excite all this jealousy! Of a truth, this must be some new garden of the Hesperides, whose fruit is guarded by roaring lions ready to devour the hapless intruder.

Slavery, indeed, has been held up as a state of beatitude, by gentlemen who never had the remotest possible desire to taste its sweets, and who would take it as an insult to be asked to do so. But, in point of fact, it is in America, the right of holding human beings in abject, helpless servitude; of compelling them to work without pay at the severest toil known to either civilization or barbarism; of brutally beating them if they refuse or are unable to do so, or offend their master in any way; of putting them to death, or mutilating them, or sending them to the gallows, or selling them to the highest bidder, and separating father from son, daughter from mother, husband from wife, for no cause whatever except the caprice of the master, or the necessities of the law. It is an institution which denies to four millions of beings the rights of humanity, and belonging to the human race, and classed with the wild beasts of the forest. It annuls the ordinance of marriage, or renders it a mockery and a snare. It presupposes neither morality nor religion among its victims. This is the beloved, the immaculate, the unspotted, the pure, for whose safety we are asked by the Pennsylvania Democratic State Central Committee to declare war against the whole North, to brand ourselves and our fellow-citizens as felons and miscreants, and to separate the American people from the only code of ethics known to civilization or Christianity, or accepted by enlightened nations.—North American.

## SHAM DEMOCRACY vs. ABOLITIONISM.

The following important resolution, proposed by Francis W. Hughes, Esq., chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, and Secretary Seward, will be read with interest:—

HEADQUARTERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA, August 11, 1862.

Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State:

Dear Sir: With some hesitation, I take the liberty of sending you three documents, viz.: The Address of the Democratic State Central Committee of this State; An Address this day issued by myself, as chairman, and the form of a call for a great mass meeting about to be held in this city.

Allow me to say that the Address of the Committee has been much assailed by leading and influential journals, conducted by those who claim to be your political friends. The denunciation has been so decided as to pronounce it treasonable. Whether or not it is treasonable, you can best determine if you read it. It is lengthy, and may take up too much of your time, but the address issued by myself exclusively on the future. He was benefiting his race, and though I do not see much similarity between his case and yours, you had better go to Nova Zembla. You may think that you could live in Washington, perhaps more so than you could on a foreign shore. This is a mistake. None but white army contractors and brigadiers on furlough can live here.

not less than three hundred thousand of the men of Pennsylvania, and I believe of over one million of men in the Central States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. I will add, too, that I believe there is no other million of men in the whole country of more devoted patriotism and loyalty.

I will add, too, that I believe this million of men will, amid political changes, remain patriotic and loyal. If you will read one or both of the enclosed addresses, and if, in connection with the facts I have stated in regard to their supporters, it will stimulate you or serve you in any degree to promote a policy on the part of the administration of President Lincoln to put down the demon of abolitionism, my sole object in addressing you this (perhaps presumptuous) note shall be more than abundantly obtained. At all events, rest assured that I address you with the profound respect due your high personal and official character.

F. W. HUGHES.

## REPLY OF MR. SEWARD.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, August 18, 1862.

To F. W. Hughes, Esq., Headquarters of the Democratic State Central Committee of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Dear Sir: I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 14th instant, together with the three papers to which it refers, two of them being appeals written by yourself, and addressed by the Democratic State Central Committee "to the Democrats and all other friends of the Constitution of Pennsylvania," and the other being a call for a mass meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, the objects of which meeting will be "to express a firm purpose to stand by the maintenance of the National Constitution with devotion to the American Union," and further, "to declare hostility to the policy and measures of all who seek to pervert the country to the purposes of abolitionism, and formally to express the intention of the democratic party to do as it has always hitherto done, namely, to support the Federal Government in the exercise of its constitutional power, and to defend it, at whatever peril, against the insidious and treasonable teachings of abolitionism."

You tell me that some influential journals, conducted by political friends of mine, censure one of these papers as treasonable, and that the others are conceived in the same spirit with the one which is harshly judged. You desire me to read them, and weigh them for myself. You further intimate a hope that the perusal of the papers will have the effect of producing exertions on my part to induce the President to favor a policy to put down the demon of abolitionism.

I have read the documents thus submitted to me, with a high respect for the authority by which they were issued, and with a full confidence in the sincerity of the devotion to the Union, which, as their author, you have avowed.

You will allow me to say that this nation is now engaged, not in a political canvass between opposing parties about questions of civil administration, but in a civil war, carried on by opposing armies on an issue of national life or death.

If the revolution prevail, there will be no questions of administration left to settle. If it fail, there will be time enough to settle all such questions. I am not to dictate a course for others to pursue in this crisis. But I must say for myself, that neither as a public officer, nor as a citizen, can I know with favor or disfavor parties among the supporters of the United States, any more than I can make a distinction between factions which unite in aiding the rebellion.

A nation, like an individual, can only do one thing effectually at one time. It cannot wisely turn aside from the chase of the fearful demon of disunion, to pursue any inferior demon, whether imaginary or real.

I think that the wrangles which occurred among the crusaders about their respective creeds, when they sat down to the banquet of Jerusalem, were just as rational and just as wise as disputes about abolition would now be in the army of the Potomac in front of Richmond. What is unwise in the camp at such a moment, cannot be wise in the Cabinet or in the assemblies of the people.

I am occupied here either in mediating between differing parties and jealous sects, or else in watching and counteracting the intrigues of traitors in Europe. But I sometimes think that, if instead of being charged with these duties, I were at liberty, as you seem to be, to serve the country in my own way, I could make an appeal to Democrats and Republicans, Abolitionists and slaveholders, in behalf of our distracted country, that would bring the whole people at once under arms, and send treason reeling back into the den of darkness from whence it sprang. I am not to do this, however, but I do know that if I were in your place, I should.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

## THE PRESIDENT ON COLONIZATION.

Among the numerous writers of the day, we do not know that there is one who can be placed ahead of Orpheus C. Kerr, whose lucid and powerful essays are published in the "Table-Talk" of the *Sunday Mercury*. His last effort is by no means behind the rest, and "takes off" the interview between the President and the colored people